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URBANIZATION IN JAPAN

Prepared by

Professor Eiichi Isomura,
the Japan Sociological Society, Department of Sociology,
Metropolitan University of Tokyo, Tokyo, Japan,
at the request of UNESCO

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I. URBANIZATION (GENERAL POSITION)

1. The concept of a city or a municipality in Japan

To understand the prevailing phenomenon of urbanization in Japan, it is necessary to have a general idea of what constitutes a city in Japan. The nomenclature is recognized in the Japanese national statute of the Administrative Laws and its main basis is that of the number of population involved. Before 1953 any community of less than 30,000 inhabitants could not be called a city. It was however decreed in 1954 that the status of "city" could be conferred upon a community, for the future, provided that it complied with a standard population base of 50,000 or more. Apart from the size of the population, the decree provided that the following conditions should also be fulfilled by the community : (a) Its non-farm population should be over 50 per cent of its total population; (b) 60 per cent of its population should be concentrated in its central section; (c) 60 per cent of its houses and buildings located in the central section should be in a row; (d) it should be equipped with certain essential facilities such as roads, water supply, drainage system, schools, hospitals, movie halls, etc.

The procedure necessary for a community to obtain the status of a city is that it has to secure the approval from the Autonomy Board, one of the departments of the Japanese Central Government, with the Board's recognition of the above-mentioned conditions.

Accordingly, attention should be drawn to the fact that the idea of an urban society as defined by sociologists may not necessarily conform to the above definition. During 1953-56, as many as about 200 small-size cities were instituted in Japan under "Towns and Villages Amalgamation Promotion Law". Why was this law enacted? I shall start by referring to the conditions of communities in Japan existing before the law came into effect. The towns and villages had been administered as independent small units but this led to financial difficulties. Meanwhile, traffic and transportation between the communities made remarkable progress, resulting in a greater frequency of communication. To enable the small communities to meet such difficulties,

/the Central Government

the Central Government enacted the above law. As a consequence of this measure, as many as 200 small-size cities were constituted during 1953-56. This phenomenon was called a "city boom". These newly-created cities, though small in population, were given a vast area of their own. For example, Moriguchi City, which is at present the smallest one in Japan with an area of 5.43 km^2 contains a population of 60,000, while Ashibetsu City, of the same population, boasts of a much wider territory of 870.92 km^2.

2. Types of Cities in Japan

According to the concept of a city as mentioned above, there are 490 cities. The cities in Japan are classified on the basis of their functions as follows :

(a) A Mining City -

This signifies a city where the great majority of the labour force is employed in the exploitation of underground deposit resources. This type of city is represented by numerous cities located in the coal-producing Hokkaido, and North Kyushu district, by Hidachi City in the Copper mining district and by Ube City famous for its cement industry.

(b) An Industrial City -

This signifies a city dependent on a heavy chemical industry for its subsistence and in most cases located in the surrounding districts of a large city. The city of Kawasaki, on the outskirts of Tokyo and the city of Amagasaki near Osaka, are examples of this type. It can clearly be said that such an industrial city, located in the neighbourhood of a larger city, surpasses any of the other types in the rapid increase of population. In fact, they are observed to be typical examples of the growth of population.

(c) A Commercial City -

This carries the popular meaning usually given to the word 'city'. In cases when one-sixth to one-third of the total number of citizens engage in business, the city is nominated as a commercial city.

(d) A Traffic City -

This is represented by a city situated at the junction of railway lines or with port facilities. As an island country, Japan now contains 188 port cities out of a total of 490 cities.

/(e) A Political

(e) A Political City -

In addition to Tokyo, the capital of Japan, any of the cities where the Prefectural Authorities or Local Government is situated, is classified as a political city. Since Japan is partitioned into 46 administrative blocks of TO-Do-Fu-Ken, (To for Tokyo Metropolis.1, Do for Hokkaido..1, Fu for special prefectures..2, Ken for prefectures..42) there are about 46 such cities. Sixteen other cities could be added although they have no local government.

(f) A City of Culture -

This means a city where institutions of higher learning are situated. Due to the post-war increase of colleges and universities in Japan, there are at present 71 such cities. If we add cities having an institution of two years of higher education, the total number of such cities would be 96.

(g) A Tourist City -

Enriched with very beautiful scenery, Japan is proud of many sight-seeing cities such as Kyoto, Nara, etc. Especially noticeable is the fact that resort cities with hot-springs constitute congested areas with heavy traffic and a large number of visitors. At present there are 26 cities, equipped with hot-spring facilities within the city-limits.

3. Urbanization on the basis of the number of cities

As early as 1889 when the nomenclature of a "city" was officially recognized, in conformity with the national statute, there were 39 cities. In the two following decades, 30 more communities obtained the status of a city. Fifteen years later, in 1925, we had 101 cities, and in 1945, immediately before the end of World War II, we had 208. In recent years the number has increased rapidly because of the above-mentioned policy of the Central Government. Today there are 490 cities in Japan.

/Table I

Table I

NUMBER OF CITIES AS GRADED ON THE BASIS OF POPULATION

Size of city (unit 10,000)	1921	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1947	1950	1955
100 and over	2	2	4	4	4	2	2	4	5
50-100	2	3	2	2	2	3	4	2	2
30-50	2	1	-	1	3	1	1	4	7
20-30	-	-	3	7	8	5	11	14	21
10-20	10	15	19	20	28	25	34	40	63
5-10	24	33	45	52	53	74	83	86	140
4-5	14	22	13	13	23	40	43	46	95
3-4	20	20	18	24	34	49	33	51	155
3 or under	7	2	3	2	11	7	3	1	3

Source: Japan Statistical Year Book, 1955.

Table II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CITIES BY SIZE OF POPULATION

Size of city (unit 10,000)	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1947	1950	1955
100 and over	34.2	32.1	29.5	48.8	45.3	19.4	22.2	30.4	26.3
50-100	11.9	16.3	20.1	7.2	7.0	10.4	12.7	5.5	3.0
30-50	8.5	3.2	-	1.4	3.7	1.8	1.3	4.4	5.1
20-30	-	-	4.6	7.0	6.6	5.6	10.2	10.7	10.3
10-20	12.7	16.6	17.7	13.3	15.1	17.7	18.7	17.4	17.2
5-10	17.1	18.0	19.8	15.8	13.4	26.3	22.8	19.3	18.7
4-5	6.4	7.9	3.8	2.7	3.8	8.9	7.4	6.6	8.3
3-4	7.2	5.4	4.1	3.7	4.2	8.9	4.6	5.7	10.9
3 and under	2.0	0.4	0.6	0.3	1.1	1.0	0.3	0.1	0.2

Source: Japan Statistical Year Book, 1955.

/Tables I and II

Tables I and II reveal that during the period of 1935-1940, the movement of city population in Japan had a distinctive tendency in that the Six Large Cities headed by Tokyo, each having a population of over one million, were especially the seat of mass concentration of population. As much as 50 per cent of the total population which moved into urban areas during this period were retained by the Six Large Cities. During World War II however, the people in these large cities began to abandon their urban dwellings to take refuge in the rural areas. The mass exodus from these areas resulted in a striking decrease of urban population and in the later years of World War II, less than 20 per cent of the total population lived in these areas. Today however, we have 30 per cent of the total population in six large cities.

I should like to emphasize here that the most important feature of Japanese urbanization is found in the fact that one-third of the entire urban population is concentrated in the Six Large Cities while a single city like Tokyo has 10 per cent of the total population. It can be observed that for the period from 1920 to about 1930, the number of cities as classified on the basis of population seems to have been proportionately dispersed. In the succeeding 10 years, however, the population began at a rapid pace to concentrate in cities of over one million inhabitants, while on the contrary, cities of 200,000 - 1,000,000 population decreased, and cities under 200,000 remained constant. This same tendency can also be seen in the post-war years of reconstruction and rehabilitation. Therefore it may be understood that the urbanization of Japan's population is going on towards either largest cities or very small cities.

Now, what is the reason for the growth of the urban population? This is due mainly to the fact that the surplus rural population is being absorbed by cities. Table III, showing the relative density of urban and rural population, reveals that until the end of the war in 1945 the density of urban population continued to be low, due to the mass exodus of the population to the rural areas, but in the powt-war years, it had recovered to some extent.

/Table III

Table III

POPULATION COMPARISON OF URBAN AREAS AND RURAL AREAS

Density of population	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940	1944	1945	1946	1947	1950	1955
Urban	73.3	59.0	52.2	44.4	31.6	21.5	14.2	15.3	16.3	15.8	-
Rural	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.5	-
% of population											
Urban	18.1	21.7	24.1	32.9	37.9	41.1	27.8	30.4	33.1	37.5	51.6
Rural	81.9	78.3	75.9	67.1	62.1	58.9	72.2	69.6	66.9	62.5	48.4

Source: Municipal Year Book of Japan, 1955.

Table III shows that there is almost no change in the population density of rural areas. The increase of density in the powt-war years may be perhaps attributable to the settlement of repatriates from abroad in their native rural areas.

When this phenomenon is studied in terms of the percentages of population, it is revealed that the urban population is 27.8 per cent of the entire population of Japan as against 72.2 per cent of the rural population in 1945, when the war ended. This ratio approximates to that of the year 1925. However, the tendency of urbanization in the post-war years was so conspicuous that in 1955 the population percentage of the urban areas was 51.6 as against 48.4 in the rural areas. Such a change in population ratio is either due to the amalgamation of towns and villages or to the absorption of surrounding towns and villages by cities. Table IV shows this development.

Table IV

INCREASE AND DECREASE OF CITIES, TOWNS AND VILLAGES

Year	Month	Day	City	Town	Village	Total
1953	10	1	286	1976	7606	9868
1950	5	3	490	1837	2665	4992
Number of balance			+204	-139	-4941	-4876

Source: Municipal Year Book of Japan, 1955.

/It took only

It took only two years to see that under the Towns and Villages Amalgamation Promotion Law, 139 towns and 4941 villages disappeared and 204 new cities came into existence.

4. Urbanization on the basis of the Urban Areas

While the avera e area of a Japanese city was 17 km^2 in 1920 and 50 km^2 in 1940, it expanded to 70 km^2 in the post-war years.

Despite the reduction in the average population of cities, it is noted that cities have followed a course of expanding their area. As a result, the average area of cities increased to 121 km^2 in 1955 showing that the Japanese cities have large areas. The number of cities classified on the basis of their area is indicated in Table V.

Table V

NUMBER OF CITIES AS GRADED ON THE BASIS OF THEIR AREAS

	1935 numbers (%)	1940 numbers (%)	1948 numbers (%)	1950 numbers (%)	1955 numbers (%)
100 km^2 over	7(5.6)	13(7.8)	42(18.4)	52(21.0)	208(42.7)
70 km^2 over	6(4.8)	15(9.0)	31(13.6)	35(14.1)	86(17.7)
50 km^2 over	13(10.4)	30(18.1)	34(14.9)	37(14.9)	66(13.6)
30 km^2 over	22(17.6)	40(24.1)	50(21.9)	53(21.4)	78(16.0)
30 km^2 under	77(61.6)	68(41.0)	71(31.2)	71(28.6)	48(10.0)
Total	125(100.0)	166(100.0)	228(100.0)	248(100.0)	486(100.0)

Source: Municipal Year Book of Japan, 1955.

During the years 1935-1940, it is shown that the number of cities occupying an area of over 100 km^2 was 5-7 per cent of the total numb r, while it gradually increased in the post-war years to 20 per cent or more of the total. In 1955, the number of cities with an area of over 200 km^2 has come to stand at 15.4 per cent of the total and that of over 100 km^2 at 27.3 per cent. Combined, those cities with an area of more than 100 km^2 the percentage is 42.7, almost half of all the cities.

/5. Urbanization on

5. Urbanization on the basis of the Urban Functions

From the sociological point of view, an urban area constitutes the basis on which the inhabitants organize human relations. Since the legal concept of a city, as will be seen above, covers a large area, we must break this concept down into different terms when we study it from the urban sociological point of view. The best way to establish a base for a sociological study of the tendency of urbanization is to understand the urban functions by way of population composition by occupations. We can make use of Colin Clark's method to divide into three types of occupations, primary (agriculture, forestry, fishery), secondary (mining, manufacturing industry) and the tertiary or service (excluding the other two). It is only natural that a city is an area where tertiary form of production prevails in its functions. Assuming that the "urbanized population" is computed by way of adding semi-household population to the quotient number to be obtained by subtracting the population of households whose heads engage in primary occupations from that of common households, it can be said that 90 per cent of large cities of over one million, 80 per cent of medium-size cities and 60-70 per cent of small cities are urbanized.

This tendency can be proved by the following table. It shows the composition of workers on the basis of the occupation in which they are engaged, on the average of three months covering September to November of each year between 1950-1954.

/Table VI

Table VI

COMPOSITION OF WORKERS ON THE BASIS OF OCCUPATION

	Primary sector			Secondary sector				Tertiary sector				
	Total %	Agriculture & forestry %	Fishery %	Total %	Mining %	Construct. %	Factory %	Total %	Wholesale & retail %	Transp. & corresp. %	Service %	Public %
1950	50.4	48.5	1.9	21.4	1.3	3.6	16.5	28.0	11.7	4.6	8.4	3.3
1951	47.9	46.1	1.8	21.7	1.4	3.7	16.6	30.4	13.9	4.8	8.7	3.0
1952	46.6	45.0	1.6	22.0	1.5	3.9	16.6	31.2	14.4	4.9	9.0	2.9
1953	47.0	45.5	1.5	21.7	1.5	3.9	16.3	31.2	14.3	4.9	9.1	2.9
1954	45.3	43.9	1.4	21.8	1.6	3.9	16.3	32.9	15.8	4.5	9.6	3.0

Source: Municipal Year Book of Japan, 1955.

As shown in the table, the workers being engaged in the primary sector occupied 50.4 per cent of the whole in 1950, but it reduced gradually in 1951 and 1952 and down to 45.3 per cent in 1954. This tendency is most conspicuous in agriculture and forestry. It is our problem to trace the movement of this population.

/In the phase

In the phase of the secondary occupations, substantial changes cannot be found. Only 0.4 per cent increase is noticed in 1954 as against 1950 implying that agricultural population is little absorbed by manufacture in the cities.

In the phase of the tertiary occupations however, the figure of population which was 28.0 per cent in 1950, rose to 32.9 per cent in 1954, showing that the people who left the primary occupations moved into tertiary ones. As also seen in the table, population increased in such occupations as wholesale and retail enterprise, financing, service, etc. The former shows an increase of 4.1 per cent and the hitter 1.2 per cent. Therefore, it is not manufacturing although the major sector of urban production, but the commercial enterpises, a rather weak sector, which absorb the rural surplus population.

In modern capitalist society, agriculture, small enterprises of commerce and manufacturing are usually particularly exposes to the influence of economic policies of the government.

It is a matter of significance for the soundness of the Japanese industry that the surplus agricultural population is absorbed in the cities by small commercial enterprises, which are also on a weak basis.

It was during 1948-1951 that the Ministry of Trade and Industry launched a test survey of commercial conditions of some cities in Japan. According to the result of this survey there are 11.3 stores in the rural areas against 24.5 in the urban areas per 1,000 persons. According to the types of enterprises, as shown in the following table, it is noticed that the percentage of retail shops in the rural areas stands higher than that of the urban areas, and that there are many more wholesale and luncheon shops in urban than in rural areas. This tendency is most conspicuous in the Six Large Cities.

/Table VII

Table VII

COMPARISON ON THE BASIS OF TYPES OF ENTERPRISES

	Urban Areas number (%)	Rural Areas number (%)	6 Large Cities number (%)
Wholesale merchandise industry, agent and brokerage	106,021 (13.9)	31,363 (5.4)	21,221 (16.0)
Retail industry	513,577 (68.0)	462,227 (79.0)	83,701 (63.7)
Small factories	48,955 (6.4)	59,961 (9.7)	7,683 (5.8)
Luncheon shop	89,546 (11.7)	34,607 (5.9)	19,036 (14.5)
Total	758,099 (100.0)	588,158 (100.0)	131,641 (100.0)

Source: Municipal Year Book of Japan, 1955.

We may draw the following conclusions:

(a) Urbanization in Japan is growing remarkably as the rural population decreases.

(b) The surplus rural population is being mostly absorbed by the small commercial enterprises in cities.

(c) This tendency is remarkable in the large cities as Tokyo and Osaka.

6. The Establishment of a Standard Metropolitan Area

As mentioned above, a city in Japan is legally institutable as an administrative unit governing a certain area under application of the laws concerned, and it is a fact that some communities which were in recent years raised to the status of "city" retain a number of rural elements. On the other hand, over-riding these rural elements, a big city has an influence of its own upon its bordering and surrounding cities, towns and villages, as well as upon nearby industrial zones, traffic zones and cultural zones. And this influence has given the surrounding areas a consolidated form of entity.

/With the

With the census begun in 1950, the United States compiled statistics on such specific areas. To use such an advanced census-taking or statistics-compiling methods as used in the United States, the Japanese Central Government set out to instruct the Statistics Standard Bureau of the Cabinet to launch a plan on the establishment of urban areas based on the overall or comprehensive fields of functions. This plan was put into practice under the direction of expert members of a Special Committee attached to the Cabinet. (This constibutor is one of the members of the Committee). The results achieved by the Committee were publicized by the Cabinet in March 1954.

(a) The Definition of Standard Metropolitan Area:[1/]

The Standard Metropolitan Area represents an area composed of cities (a city referred to in this paragraph should be a city of over 100,000 inhabitants but it may include cities of less than 100,000, provided that a prefectural government is located in the city), together with their bordering or surrounding cities, towns and villages, which maintain striking city-like characteristics and are tied up to a pivotal city with economical and social inter-relationship. Accordingly, the Standard Metropolitan Area can be established in principle apart from the conception that a city, town and village be set within an area of administrative boundaries of its own jurisdiction.

(b) The Standard of Decision of City-like Characteristics of Town and Village

(i) The population density should be over 170 inhabitants per km^2.

(ii) Out of all households in the specific areas, the number of agricultural households (precluding those of the secondary type of occupations) should not exceed 50 per cent.

(iii) Out of the number of passengers in those specific towns and villages, on a monthly average basis, those passengers going to a pivotal city should form 20 per cent of the whole number of passengers. (This is defined as a traffic density). Alternatively, there should be, also on a monthly average basis, over 7 telephone calls to the pivotal city per one phone subscriber. (This is a communication density).

(iv) The Successive Approximity to a Pivotal City.

/On the

1/ Classification of Japanese Standard Metropolitan Area, 1954.

On the assumption that the above standards be applied to a project of establishing a Standard Metropolitan Area, the cities of Tokyo and Yokohama and the cities of Osaka and Kobe, ranking among the Six Big Cities, constitute Standard Metropolitan Area, while at the same time many other cities may also be qualified possibly to form other such areas. Such regions of the category in a limited number are widely known with the following nominations, through which it is indicated that those regions form a congested area of cities.

The Kanmon District
The Keihanshin District
The Chukyo District (The City of Nagoya being a mainstay)
The Toyama-Taknoka District
The Keihin District

It is natural that any of these areas should be administered as one body under a unitary government, since activities, relationships, etc., ranging within each region are too closely intermingled for separation.

II. URBANIZATION
(SPECIFIC TRENDS)

1. The Six Large Cities in Japan

The population of all cities combined in Japan was 10.020,000 or 18 per cent of the whole Japanese population in 1920, while in the years preceding World War II it reached a high figure of 29,650,000 or 40 per cent of the whole. Later it gradually followed a downward course due to the trials and aftermaths of the war which forced the city dwellers to abandon their houses in the city and seek shelter in the countryside. However, in 1950 the population of the cities throughout Japan was registered at 31,200,000 and by the year 1955 it rose to 42,940,000 or more than half of Japan's total population.

/It should be

Table VIII

THE RATIO OF THE SIX BIG CITIES

	Tokyo pref.		Osaka pref.		Kyoto pref.		Aichi pref.		Hyogo pref.		Kanahawa pref.	
	Urban area	Rural area	U.a	R.a	U.a	R.a	U.a	R.a	U.a	R.a	U.a	R.a
1920	90.8	9.2	68.3	31.7	45.4	54.6	29.8	70.2	31.3	68.7	43.7	56.3
1925	91.6	8.4	69.0	31.0	59.6	40.4	33.8	66.2	32.1	67.9	41.9	58.1
1930	92.1	7.9	69.3	30.7	62.0	38.0	36.0	64.0	33.3	67.7	43.4	56.6
1935	92.5	7.5	69.7	30.3	64.2	35.8	38.7	61.3	34.8	65.2	43.2	56.8
1940	92.1	7.9	67.8	32.2	53.7	46.3	41.9	58.1	33.7	66.3	44.2	55.8
1945	79.4	20.6	39.3	60.7	54.8	45.2	20.9	79.1	16.8	83.2	33.4	66.6
1947	83.5	16.5	46.7	53.3	58.3	41.7	27.3	72.1	21.0	79.0	36.6	63.4
1950	85.7	14.3	50.7	49.3	60.1	39.9	30.4	69.6	23.1	76.9	38.2	61.8

Source: Japan Census Report, 1950.

Table VIII shows that in Tokyo, areas outside Tokyo proper began to lose their population as from 1920 and in 1940 they had only 7.9 per cent of the whole population of Tokyo, revealing a sharp upward trend of population movement into the central or more urbanized area of Tokyo Metropolis. This trend was prevailing more or less in the other big cities, too, but was not as conspicuous as in Tokyo. So far as the City of Nahoya is concerned, the ratio of population in the provincial areas of Aichi Prefecture, in which Nagoya is situated, has been showing a reduced tendency.

/3. The Cause of

3. The Cause of the Growth in Population of a Large City - Osaka

Attention should be paid to the fact that a sharp increase of population in any of the big cities, as shown above, is not attributable to a "natural" increase (a balance between births and deaths), nor to an increase due to people's movement from rural or other minor cities and communities.

Table IX

THE NATURAL INCREASE AND THE INCREASE DUE TO POPULATION MOVEMENT IN CITIES

	Numbers (unit 1,000)				Percentage			
	Seven pref.		Other pref.		Seven pref.		Other prof.	
	Natural increase	Pop.Movem. increase	Natural incr.	Pop.Mvt. increase	Natural incr.	Pop.Mvt. increase	Natural incr.	Pop.Mvt. increase
1900 -'05	514	571	2,105	417	5.14	5.72	6.21	1.23
1905 -'10	600	640	2,321	997	5.45	5.78	6.55	2.80
1910 -'15	760	780	2,787	759	6.19	6.34	7.55	2.05
1915 -'20	472	1,176	2,157	594	3.41	8.51	5.54	1.52
1920 -'25	833	1,133	2,881	1,074	5.39	7.34	7.14	2.68
1925 -'30	1,148	1,270	3,271	975	6.54	7.37	7.74	2.31
1930 -'35	1,287	1,602	3,347	1,432	6.48	8.07	7.51	3.22
1935 -'40	1,232	1,566	2,743	1,981	5.43	6.88	5.91	3.62

Source: Japan Census Report, 1950.

In the 7 big prefectures, each of them shows a greater ratio of increase due to the movement of population over that of natural increase, while other prefectures have a greater percentage of natural increase but a smaller one relating to population movement. Thus, it is evident that the agricultural regions are losing their population as compared with the cities.

/4. The Mobility

4. The Mobility of Population within a Large City

It may be hasty conclusion to interpret the urbanization phenomenon in Japan as one of concentration of an agrarian population in a city area. To understand it in the right sense, it is necessary to enquire as to which section of a city area is selected for the agrarian people to settle at an initial stage of their moving into a city and their subsequent condition of mobility. On this respect, the writer conducted an investigation in the Tokyo Metropolis. The central section of Tokyo is administratively divided into 23 ward areas, which are approximately classified into 3 categories: (a) civic or loop areas of wards, (b) semi-civic areas of 10 wards, and (c) circumferential or extended areas of 10 wards. I am happy that I could succeed in my attempt at discovering the extent of mobility developed by the inhabitants of Meguro Ward, one of the 23 wards which I believe to be suitable for the sampling area chosen for my study, as it is one of the 10 semi-civic areas and is also equipped with a kind of circumferential area. I will try to analyse on the premise that on 1 January 1955, Meguro Ward had a population of 248,827 inhabitants with 63,822 households.

(a) The Residence and Mobility of a Household Master

When I sampled and studied one-hundredth of about 60,000 households of Meguro Ward or 600 households, it was revealed that nearly 97 per cent of the 600 households came to settle in their present houses since 1925, while formerly the percentage was only 34.3. In other wards there were plenty of households which had moved within the limits of the ward. Then, from what outside areas did the remaining households move in? Actually they moved in most cases into Meguro Ward from the loop areas.

Classified on the basis of their former residence, it shows that out of the households which moved in from Meguro Ward limits, 9.1 per cent had maintained residence in the loop areas, 11 per cent once had residence and 11.7 per cent had a birthplace in the same loop areas.

This phenomenal tendency can be interpreted this way: the inhabitants who were born or used to live in the loop areas were being ejected or forced to move out from their native civic areas into a circumferential area in the course of one-quarter of a century.

/It was as

It was as early as 1932 or 20 years earlier perhaps that Megro area was recognized a ward as a part of Tokyo. There occurred a mass exodus of the inhabitants into the surrounding areas, abandoning their old homes in the central section of Tokyo. In this case, it should be noted that according to the official registry, 12.3 per cent of the whole exodus was due to the war damage. Thus, even though the Loop and Semi-Loop sections were congested due to the increase caused by the movement of the people, it may be that the congested population was forced to move out into the surrounding areas in due course. This phenomenon is necessarily conducive towards the rapid urbanization of the fringe agrarian areas.

b. Dwelling house and Occupation (or Workshop)

As explained above, the people to be evicted out of the central sections of a city would usually settle down around the surrounding areas, while, however, it will not necessarily be co-incidental with their movement that they change or quit their workshops in the centre of a city. In other words, they transfer their livelihood into the surrounding areas, but still retain business in the old workshop in the central section. Thus a special phenomenon arises of separation between dwellings and workshops, so far as the community is concerned. It is revealed that out of all the male workers, 7.5 per cent operate a business at their own workshops (This defines Rural Type), while 23.8 per cent keep their workshops within the ward area. Combined, 30 per cent of all the male workers do not leave the ward area, but remain there in the interest of business occupation. Another way of clarification is that 70 per cent of male workers stick to business outside of their ward area. In the light of this fact as many as 30 per cent of workers keep their workshops or occupation in the central section of Tokyo, it may easily be understood that social and economic functions of the central section are mobilized and operated with the great strength of much concentration and efficiency. This trend is distinctive in Tokyo, while it also prevails in any of the big cities throughout Japan.

III. PROBLEMS AND THE CAUSES OF URBANIZATION

1. The Problems of an Excessively Large City

As previously referred to, it may be summarized that a characteristic feature of urbanization in Japan is the special role played by a big city. Why is it so? The primary factor I may safely say is found in the unique conditions relating to the physical nature of Japan. To put it in another way, it signifies that Japan is a compact, narrow land, which is, in addition, over-populated, resulting in a very high density. Since however, the space is rather small and narrow, many small-sized communities are eventually let to border near each other within a short period. During such development, if 2 or several bordering little communities come to terms in conformity with their own living ways and manners, it may be natural that these communities will easily take to a course of merger to organize a small city. However, I wish to refer to the secondary factor or a social condition, which, on many occasions, stands in the way of a merger. This social condition can be represented by the prevailing existence of feudalistic traits in the society, or perhaps conventionalism or traditional modes of behaviour. The fact that a type of industry followed by the people of rural areas and of medium and small cities resembles in nature a household industry type, signifies the co-existence of a dwelling house and workshop at one place. Such living conditions can hardly develop into a modernized relationship of the human beings involved.

The younger generation, which is usually able and courageous enough to abandon the conventional and feudalistic manners, and younger members of a family, from the second son downwards, who are generally considered so far as Japan's size is concerned to be a surplus, even a burden sometimes for an efficient maintenance of household industrial production, do not usually concentrate in their neighbouring small city which is akin to their native locality in living manners, but instead like to move directly to a big city.

The conclusion, therefore, may be that a principal cause of excessive concentration into a big city of a surplus farming population, etc., lies in the over-population and the narrowness of the usable land available in Japan and also in a rather comfortable easy-going atmosphere of the big city which is free of feudalistic behavioural patterns.

/2. The Decline

2. The Decline of Natural Increase and the Increase due to Movement of the Population

This gives rise to an unbalanced condition between natural increase and the increase due to the movement of the population in a big city.

(a) The Decline of Natural Increase

It is a fact indeed that the growth of population is a menace to the Japanese society. According to the following statistical table X, it can be seen that a "babyboom" age, which used to be the characteristic of immediate post-war years, had disappeared long ago, the birth-rate gradually come down on a nation-wide basis.

Table X

NATURAL INCREASE OF POPULATION

Year	Population (1,000)	Births (1,000)	Deaths (1,000)	Birth-rate (per 1,000)	Death-rate (per 1,000)
1919-23[a/]	68,572	2,112	1,196	31	17
1947	78,101	2,676	1,138	34	17
1948	80,010	2,682	951	33	15
1949	81,780	2,697	945	33	12
1950	83,200	2,338	905	28	12
1951	84,600	2,138	839	25	10
1952	85,900	1,999	764	23	9
1953	87,000	1,862	772	21	9
1954	88,000	1,712	686	19	8

Source: Japan Statistical Year Book, 1955

a/ Average

It is notable that a decline of natural increase is very striking in cities, especially in big cities, and also distinctive among the upper classes. The post-war years saw an enlarged living freedom being enjoyed by the people, while at the same time the idea of birth control and family planning had been popularized, so much so that a big city now faces a serious problem of how to manage the citizens' abuse of contraception.

/(b) The Expansion

(b) The Expansion due to Population Movement

Tokyo Metropolis has absorbed 400,000 people per year and is one of the most remarkable phenomenon of urbanization in Japan. The extent of absorption by Tokyo has declined to some extent in recent years, but still as many as 300,000 people are being absorbed yearly. Regarding the cause of the increase due to population movement, what is explained in section 1, Part III is applicable to this case also. In addition to that, it should be pointed out that the Japanese economic policy lacks thorough planning, resulting in a great difference of living standards between urban and rural regions. To give an example, a bank deposit created in the agricultural regions, is usually spent in cities. This trend is also seen in the relative condition of deposit and expenditure covering a central or civic section of a city and its fringe section. A city is a body that is usually prosperous and attractive, especially so in the central sections. This luring appearance constitutes another cause of the rural populations being absorbed by a city.

Thus there exists a difference of living standards between the rural and urban populations. The living standard cannot be adjusted in agrarian regions to such an extent as in cities. In a city one would find millionaires, as well as penniless loafers. Despite the fact that people in cities are often placed in a precarious condition they still seek protection in a city, with the hope of attaining a better status eventually.

3. Urbanization and Human Relations

The concentration of population in cities has two important features. One relates to the pattern, as seen in a big city of Japan, of people's direct moving-in, while the other, as described by Mr Hunzen of Germany, is connected with a relayed mobility of people, as they eventually assemble in a big city via medium and small cities where they settle only to reside for some stretch of time. The latter case is not accompanied by any serious repercussion in a big city, as the moving people become accustomed to an urban way of living to some extent, but the former situation where the people are transferred directly from the agrarian regions, to big cities brings forth varied social problems, as migrants usually find it too difficult to adjust themselves to the changed conditions of urbanized life.

(a) The collapse

(a) The Collpase of Family Unity

When an agricultural family moves into a city it has very often to face the problem of finding suitable accommodation. The housing problem being too acute it is very difficult to get flats large enough to accommodate all the family members with the result they have to be satisfied with a partial transfer. Typical of this is that only minor members of a family as the second or the third sons or student members are in most cases, allowed to move in by themselves ahead of the other members, who are forced to stay behind.

Urban life is liable, as is widely known, to make citizens individualistic and self-interested. Such an outlook of a city dweller conflicts with that of those coming from the rural areas. Once familiarized with such a self-centred life and nature, it becomes difficult for an individual to shake it off. Conceding one family could move in en bloc, its members are destined to be tinted with the colour of urban life, since its residence and workshop are in many cases separately located. The likely consequence in many cases is divorce, and juvenile delinquency due to the parents' lack of opportunity to attend to their children.

(b) The Alienation of Neighbourhood Relationship

In the Japanese feudalistic age, a good neighbourhood structure (consisting of 2 immediate next houses on either side and 3 houses on the opposite side across the road) used to work well amongst its limited circle of neighbourly folks. But in a modern urban life, its members work every day in different places far from each other, weakening, consequently the neighbourly ties of old days.

Even more, such neighbourly ties seem far from being appreciated and so such a tendency does not create the necessary conditions for a sound community.

(c) <u>The Use and Growth of Social Problems</u>

Human beings are inclined to create measures of self-protection against a too rapid pace of urbanization. The measures are represented by mass grouping at a certain specific area of people of the same living level. The so-called "slums" are located in many Japanese cities. This is a sort of

/segregation in

segregation in ecology. Specially in Japan, it should be pointed out that such mass groups tend to assemble not only in one area, but they maintain their rural living habits (a type opposite to Urban Type). Although they live and work at a different place, they maintain a close relationship of neighbourliness. Allegedly they are living in a tenement-house type of by-gone days, with the consequence of the steady growth of old traditional customs, immorality and unsanitary conditions.

For these few years the Philopon[1/] addiction was rampant in Japanese big cities, a post-war phenomenon of a beaten country. At the outset it broke out mostly in the slum area but soon it rapidly spread and penetrated into the agrarian regions.

4. The Development of Traffic and Communication Problems

The function of urban community places its focal base on mass communication and traffic facilities. On the assumption that the mass traffic and communication be subtracted from urban functions, a city would not be able to stand a modernized municipality. In the Japanese cities, however, the citizens are being evicted at a rapid pace from the central section of their city into its surrounding sections, making it necessary to transport them directly to the centre of the city with traffic facilities, which, in view of mass transportation, should be consolidated enough to meet the need. In other words, it is considerable that the urbanization of the areas of towns and villages on the fringe of a city shall be advanced with the development of transport facilities. A big city specially needs to centralize its functions to such an extent as possible. Mention should be made that the central section of cities in Japan are being extended vertically upward with lots of soaring superstructural buildings, just the same as seen in foreign countries. I even came to have an hypothesis that the "shape of urbanization may be represented by a zooming structure of buildings". From my hypothesis, it may be concluded that the means of mass transportation to the central section with as much rapidity as possible constitutes a vital keypoint to the development of efficient urbanization. The urbanization experts, who emphasize the importance of engineering technique for city planning, are sometimes opposed to the above view, which acknowledges and

/accepts a

1/ Stimulant used during World War II to enable the Japanese soldiers to remain awake for a long period of time.

accepts a natural way of development of a city as it is. I will concede that since a city is a creation by human beings, it is natural that there should be some planning standardization applied to a certain degree. However, much it may be desirable that a city planning technique should precede a developing phase of urbanization, the concentration of population in a city is a vital characteristic of modern development, and recognition of its character the key which opens the door leading to the fundamental solution of various problems confronting urbanization.

IV. COUNTER-MEASURES TO URBANIZATION

Judging from the present condition of Japan, it cannot be said that there exist any measures of direct influence on the control of advancing over-rapid urbanization. But we may find some indirect measures directed at the conflict of functions between urban and rural regions and designed to improve their mutual adjustment.

1. The Enforcement of the Towns and Villages Amalgamation Promotion Law

In its consciousness that a set-up of multi-divided and independent communities require too much administrative expenditure and eventually will impose a heavy burden of tax on the inhabitants, the Japanese Central Government as mentioned above, set out to encourage the amalgamation of small towns and villages for a limited period of two years, starting from 1954. At the same time, the government began a policy of extending financial aid to newly merged and enlarged communities when these were faced with financial difficulties. This government action of amalgamation, in the meantime, achieved a success to some extent, namely, nearly 2,000 towns and villages disappeared with their merger into others. On the other hand, in many cases, the towns and villages immediately around a big city were amalgamated into a big city with the idea that they could be much better off with their amalgamation to a big city than with a new merged organization of their own communities. This is the reason why a Japanese city of recent days embraces in substance a comparatively wide expanded agrarian land and population with which it is centred. This resulted in the fact that the urbanization of agrarian areas was promoted to a very large extent.

/2. Concept and

2. Concept and results of the Do-Shu Administrative Structure

The idea of enlarging the size of a prefecture is gaining influence due to several reasons: (a) a city, a town and a village are merged to organize a bigger regional community; (b) increase of transportation gave an opportunity for the inhabitants of towns and villages to come in greater contact and (c) mass communication by radio devices, etc. has so advanced as to make once isolated folks view the world with wider visibility and insight. Even the Central Government has more or less advanced with this view. Numerous opinions were made public for comments. In the light of the achievements of the amalgamation of towns and villages, and epochal administrative stage seems to have turned up with the result that existing prefectures may be re-organized by boundary demarcations.

3. The Enforcement of a Special City Structure

The Japan Autonomy Administration Law defines that the Five Big Cities (exclusive of Tokyo Metropolis, which itself is a prefectural unit) can be administered by themselves without being interfered with by the prefectures. These also act as the Central Government's intermediary agencies for cities located within their jurisdictional limits. The provisions of the Law state that those Five Big Cities can be independent organs capable of exercising an administrative power with authority. In the event, however, those Five Big Cities could once come to function as an independent organ, precluding interfering action by their prefectures, it would be an inevitable consequence to the prefectures concerned that they would lose their jurisdictional areas and authority as well. To cope with such an undesirable development, many prefectures to be affected took a very opposing and resisting stand against the putting into force of the provisions, so much so that the provisions of the Law have not come into effect as yet. Once put in force, it is supposed that the urbanization processing could be, as far as the Five Big Cities are concerned, developed with good effects of rationality and economy.

4. The Capital City Sphere Consolidation Law

The draft of the subject Law is being submitted to the 1956 National Diet and it is expected to be passed. The bill is drawn with the provisions that a circle be made with a radius of 50 km containing Japan's representative Cities of Yokohama and Tokyo Metropolis within its scope, and that this area

/be designated

be designated as the "Capital City Sphere", that administrative measures be enforced with more rationality than in other areas, and that the Sphere be developed and urbanized by way of appreciation and preservation of intrinsic merits of the satellite cities and communities. Further it is aimed by the Law that a growing over-concentration of population into the present Tokyo areas should be indirectly prevented. The past years have seen the National Capital City Construction Law, as enacted by the National Legislature a few years ago, working with almost no effect. Hence, the new bill is on the way to the National Diet of 1956.

5. The Influence of City Traffic

It is clear that the development of a country's traffic and communication system plays a basic role in urbanization. At present the cities in Japan are influenced traffic-wise by their units of communication - overland (railroad, electrical railway and motor-cars), marine (ships) and air (airplanes) transportation. We have seen many instances where the development of port facilities and key railway stations led to the enlargement and activities of local communities and cities, resulting in the amalgamation of those bodies. The instances are exemplified by the Fukuoka regions in Northern Kyushu and the Tokyo-Kawasaki-Yokohama area (this area, so far as port operation is concerned, is, under designation of the "Keihin" port or Tokyo-Yokohama port, placed in part under one administrative structure). The increased activities of an airport, it must be added, are contributing very much to the urbanization of municipalities. The fact that the Tokyo International Airport or the Haneda Airport on the fringe of Tokyo Metropolis has a yearly number of passengers up to at least 30,000 or more flying in, can be said to have effected a great change in the base of urbanization.

More than the mutual communication and transportation between the communities, an internal stream-lining set-up within a city itself is considered to be an encouraging factor of urbanization. Though it is conceded that a City is living on the tie-up with human relationship, this phenomenon can operate, substantially speaking, only through the medium of traffic organization, and indeed without this medium any city cannot exist. Therefore my belief is that urbanization is perhaps standing at the cross road for promotion or demotion, depending upon the extent of adequate planning and programme of traffic operation covering a city and its encircling areas, specially so in the central congested section of a large city.